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NARRATIVES AND DOCUMENTS

MANUSCRIPT XXXIX: Mamae of Mangaia: Nineteenth Century Pastor and Tribal Historian

MICHAEL REILLY

ABSTRACT

Mamae of Mangaia was a nineteenth-century pastor of the London Missionary Society, and a tribal historian whose significant collection of oral traditions forms the foundations of present day knowledge of pre-Christian Mangaian society, as disseminated through the scholarship of the missionary-ethnographer, William Wyatt Gill, and Māori anthropologist, Te Rangihīroa (Peter Buck). Amongst Mamae's many literary works is a collection of letters that forms the basis of this paper. Letters bring us closer to a writer's personality and to their experience of a particular social and cultural world. Mamae's letters relate incidents from his early life prior to Christianity and his service as a pastor, community leader and spokesperson, tribal historian and planter. By also drawing on other contemporary sources a more complete portrait can be painted of Mamae as a leader and scholar who helped sustain the ancestral knowledge underpinning Mangaia's society as it faced the challenges of the colonial era.

Keywords: Mamae, letters, London Missionary Society, Mangaia, Indigenous pastor and tribal historian, Cook Islands

Mamae lived his whole life on Mangaia, where he became a much valued and esteemed pastor (*'orometua*) in the London Missionary Society (LMS). He was also a highly respected tribal historian who, in his adult years, wrote down much of what he knew for his friend, the missionary William Wyatt Gill. Mamae's recorded traditions remain the foundations of our knowledge of ancient Mangaia. When he was born early in the nineteenth century, Mangaia was an independent land ruled

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by a hierarchy of tribal leaders, with limited connections to the wider world of eastern Oceania and beyond. However, during his adult life, his land became increasingly linked up with other Pacific Islands through the agency of the LMS, although Mangaia continued to be ruled by its Indigenous leaders. The missionaries called this cluster of connected islands the Hervey Group, with the church headquartered initially in the Society Islands, then in Rarotonga. The Hervey Group spread across a widely dispersed range of culturally distinctive lands, from Pukapuka and Tongareva (Penrhyn) in the north down to Mangaia lying south-east of Rarotonga, almost on the fringe of tropical Polynesia.

Amongst Mamae's many literary outputs is a collection of letters that he wrote over the span of almost 40 years. Through the words inscribed on paper with pen and ink, and intended for a specific reader or audience, we can almost touch the hidden personality of their author. Some of Mamae's letters, especially to Gill, present an intimate view of him as he acts in and experiences his world. In others, such as those intended for the LMS, Mamae assumes a more formal personality as a community or church spokesperson. That connection between reader and writer is one of the pleasures of letters. They are a special kind of historical artefact. That closeness requires readers to show a respect for the words that a writer chooses to represent themselves. For an author like Mamae, recognized by his peers as a skilled user of *te tara Mangaia* (the Mangaian language),[1] attention to his own words is particularly important. In this paper I have extensively quoted passages from his letters that illuminate aspects of his life as a young person growing up, as a churchman, a community leader and representative, a tribal historian and a man of the land. These passages are complemented by what his contemporaries wrote about him in order to paint a more complete portrait of Mamae and his world. His words, crafted in his country's language, provide us with a rare window into how one Mangaian experienced and acted on his island's social and cultural stage, on which he played a not insignificant part.

At the beginning of his life Mamae was known as Koroa-iti, but after he converted he acquired the baptismal name Sadaraka (from Shadrach in the Old Testament's Book of Daniel). During his adult life, he also became known by his third name, Mamae (Sorrow), adopted to remember the death of a child.[2] In some of his letters he signs himself, Mamaerua.[3] Mission texts commonly call him Sadaraka, but in this paper I use the name by which he is more commonly known today, Mamae.

[1] William Wyatt Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* (London: Henry S. King, 1876), xx.

[2] William Wyatt Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1894; repr. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1984), 367; Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1876), 114; Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae, Sydney 20 May 1891', in Gill, 'Native Songs, etc used in Myths & Songs from the South Pacific & Historical Sketches of Savage Life', Auckland City Libraries, Special Collections (hereinafter ACL/SC), Grey New Zealand Manuscripts (hereinafter GNZ MS), 45.

[3] Note: in the three versions I have seen of Mamae's book of genealogies, Mamaerua is identified as another name for Koroa-iti's younger brother, Kakina. However, a comparison of handwriting sample texts by Sadaraka and Mamaerua shows a very close match, suggesting that these are by

To aid the reader I have modified Mamae's punctuation. I have inserted diacritics (macrons, hamzahs) in his Mangaian texts to reflect modern linguistic usages; however, I have not altered his older spellings (for example, '*ekalesia*, *medua*, etc). Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own (Figure 1).

Ancestry and Early Life

Mamae's paternal line was an illustrious one in the Ngāti Mautara *kōpū* (clan): he was a direct descendant of the eponymous ancestor.[4] His father, Tau'apepe, was the composer of one of several laments for the slain Atatoa. According to Gill, 'this is considered by native critics to be by far the finest of this whole set of laments'.[5] Among Mamae's earlier male ancestors were several influential tribal leaders, at least three of whom held office as *te mangaia*, the highest chiefly title on the island: Koroa, Pōtiki and Mautara. The evidence from traditions shows Mautara to be one of the most able *mangaia* title holders in the island's history. Unlike other *mangaia* he was not a warrior but rather a superb strategic thinker who established many alliances through inter-tribal marriages, thereby fostering and supporting ancestors of key descent groups that subsequently went on to shape Mangaia's later history. He was also the medium for the important *atua* (spirit power, spiritual being, god, deity), Mōtoro, worshipped by the prestigious Ngāriki *ivi* (tribe, people), a group that ultimately descended from the island's most powerful pre-Christian *atua*, Rongo. Koroa and Tau'apepe were both

the same person. The content of at least some of the letters also confirms this, e.g. Mamaerua-signed letters refer to purchasing spectacles (Mamae had bad eyesight), critique one of Gill's publications that Mamae was the key contributor to and refer to the letter writer's deceased wife as both Mrs Mamaerua and Mrs Mamae. In Te Rangihīroa's version of the genealogies he separately lists the marriages and offspring of the two brothers: both have wives called Aravao and their children appear to have the same or similar names. In the other versions, the marriage is given for Mamaerua (to Aravao), and with offspring that include Aiteina (Mamae's son). Neither lists the family of Mamae himself, although this is his genealogy book. On balance, I've opted to identify Mamaerua as Mamae. There are three versions of Sadaraka's genealogical book: 1. 'Photocopy of MS of Akaiti's genealogy book' (this is a photocopy of the handwritten original), Donald S. Marshall, Cook Islands Research Papers, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus, Rarotonga, Box 9.5 (copy courtesy of Rod Dixon); 2. 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe: Compiled from the Book of Koroa-iti, Sadaraka or Mamae, Father of Aiteina', Dec. 1929–Jan. 1930, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, MS Case 5 Co 2 (typescript by Te Rangihīroa); 3. 'Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga', Mangaia Islands Manuscript, MacMillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, MS 171 (typescript).

[4] Ngāti Mautara is also known by its earlier tribal names, Te 'Āmama and Ngāti Vara.

[5] William Wyatt Gill, 'Notes to Tau'apepe's Lament for Ata', in Gill, 'Original Manuscripts of Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia', ACL/SC, GNZ MS 44. This lament appears in Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 301–4, but not the notes. Hamzah in Tau'apepe follows 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', which Te Rangihīroa checked in the field with Tau'apepe's grandson, Aiteina.

FIGURE 1. Drawing of Mamae.
Source: William Wyatt Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1894; repr. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1984), 365. Image provided by Rod Dixon.

first-born sons ('*tama mua*'), a position of distinction.[6] Mamae's Ngāti Mautara genealogy was one of great *mana* (spiritually endowed authority).[7]

[6] 'Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga', 21–2.

[7] This line is found in Te Rangi Hiroa (P.H. Buck), *Mangaian Society*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 122 (Honolulu, 1934; repr. New York: Kraus, 1971), 27; 'Genealogical Tables of Te

FIGURE 2. A couple, almost certainly Mamae and Aravao, ca. 1850s. Albumen prints, stereo card, 83 × 172 mm.
Source: Michael Graham-Stewart and Francis McWhannell, 'Jesus in the Pacific' Missionary Exihibition, 2016, https://michaelgrahamstewart.com/jesus-in-the-pacific/ (accessed 7 Oct. 2021). Reproduced with the permission of Michael Graham-Stewart.

Mautara
'Īkoke
Pōtiki
Koroa = Rurungapu
Tau'apepe
Koroa-iti

The genealogical evidence indicates that Mamae was the eldest surviving child of his father's marriage.[8] However, the most influential figure in the young Mamae's life was his grandfather, after whom he was named Koroa-iti (Little Koroa). In fact, Mamae was brought up by him, and presumably by Tau'apepe's mother, Rurungapu.[9] As a male, Mamae had an especially close relationship with his grandfather: only Mamae was permitted to eat with him.[10] Such a relationship reflects an important cultural practice, that of *tamariki 'āngai*, whereby children, or grandchildren (*mokopuna*), are given to other family members to raise. Typically, a first-born *mokopuna* like Mamae would be given to or requested by grandparents. This had an important

'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', see genealogies entitled 'Ngati Vara tribe', 'Ikoke 1'. While Te Rangi Hiroa is the form found on title pages, Te Rangihīroa is the correct form of the name, and it is this version that I have used in my own text.

[8] 'Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga', 22. There was a first-born son, also named Koroaiti, who died.

[9] 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', genealogy 'Ikoke 1'.

[10] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 318 n.1.

consequence for Mamae as his grandfather took responsibility, as part of the '*āngai* principle, not only to feed him but also to educate him in tribal knowledge.

Koroa was a man of *mana* in Ngāti Mautara. His father, Pōtiki, had been one of the more successful holders of the *mangaia* title. Since these chiefly rulers normally gained their title by defeating a competitor in battle, a *mangaia* had to be a skilled warrior and tactician, but even more importantly, he had to be able to manage other powerful and ambitious tribal leaders in order to prevail in a fight and, just as importantly, to form an effective government. As Koroa grew to maturity, Pōtiki identified his son as having potential as a future leader for, during his reign, he gave him a role in his governing of the island. Some little time after his father's reign ended, Koroa defeated his successor in battle and became the *mangaia* himself, although his reign does not appear to have lasted very long.[11] Amongst his other claims to fame, Koroa was a poet of distinction, with a number of his works written down by Mamae for Gill, who thought them amongst the finest songs created by pre-Christian Mangaians. Koroa was also a *tīrango moana* (an expert in fishing knowledge and ritual).[12] There was much he could teach his *mokopuna*.

In 1873 Mamae, the respected pastor, wrote about his early life:

> 'E tamaiti 'oki au nā te diapolo, … nō roto mai 'oki au i te tuātau 'ētene. I arataki'ia nā au e tōku ai metua ki runga i te marae o te diapolo. Kua 'ākara tōku mata i tēta'i tamaki, ē kāre i roa taua tuātau rā, kua tae mai te tuatua ora a Iesu.[13]
>
> I was a child of the devil, … [born] in the heathen times. I was led by my fathers onto the devil's *marae*. My eyes observed one battle, and not long after that time, the living word of Jesus arrived.

Mamae's appearance on the *marae* in the company of his male elders may allude to the naming ritual which occurred on the *marae* of the *atua* to which a child had been dedicated soon after birth. A group of young people was summoned to that god's *marae*, and in a public ceremony presided over by the island's pre-eminent religious leader, the *ariki pā uta*, accompanied by other priestly mediums, the children and

[11] Michael Reilly, *War and Succession in Mangaia*, Memoir No. 52 (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 2003), 76–8.

[12] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 367; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 72, 192; Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.

[13] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873, Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive, School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London (hereinafter CWM/LMS, SOAS), South Seas Letters (hereinafter SSL), Box 34, Folder 2, Jacket A, Australian Joint Copying Project (hereinafter AJCP), Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719784717/view (accessed Aug. 2021). Some SSL references in this paper are from AJCP microfilms, but owing to Covid-19 restrictions during 2021 in New Zealand, which prevented access to library collections, others like this letter come from the digital version found on Trove. Only the latter items will include the https URL. All SSL were addressed to the Foreign Secretary, LMS.

youths were ritually named and recognized, both by the *atua* and by their communities. In Mamae's case, he was dedicated to Mōtoro, one of the island's three major tribal deities, as were many others in Ngāti Mautara, and so would have gone to one of that *atua*'s *marae* for his public naming, most likely its principal one, Ara'ata, in the western *puna* (district) of Kei'ā.[14]

Mamae's observation of a battle shortly before the arrival of Christianity indicates that he was involved in the battle of Ara'eva, located on a ridgeline on the far side of the valley from Ara'ata.[15] These were challenging times for the Ngāti Mautara people. When Mamae's grandfather, Koroa, was defeated in battle (at Rangi'ura in Veitātei *puna*), he was replaced as *te mangaia* by Makitaka, from another branch of Ngāti Mautara. Like Koroa, Makitaka's reign did not last long. He was replaced peacefully by Pangemiro, a descendant of one of the men (Mana'une) whom Mautara had protected and supported. For the first time since Mautara's lifetime, the Ngāti Mautara had lost control of the levers of power to other descent groups.

The battle of Ara'eva was the culmination of a campaign by Ngāti Mautara and its supporters to get rid of Pangemiro and his people and regain control of the *mangaia* title. In this, Mamae's kin were ultimately unsuccessful.[16] Koroa was clearly a participant in this campaign: in one incident he went out of his way to insult Arokapiti, one of Pangemiro's key supporters, suggesting that his head was not *tapu* (sacred, restricted, under the influence of *atua*). Early in the battle, as compensation for this deeply insulting remark, Arokapiti sought out Koroa and killed him and another warrior, possibly his son, Tau'apepe.[17] Mamae confirmed these deaths and his participation to Gill: '[He] saw his father Tauapepe and his grandfather Koroa, after whom he is named, fall in [deleted the, added a] battle fought about a year before the introduction of Christianity'.[18]

When someone like Arokapiti wanted to attack a particular opponent during a battle in response to an earlier insult, they would stand opposite their target when the armies formed up in ranks to face one another. During fighting the eldest son stood to his father's right to protect his head, so it seems likely that both Koroa and Tau'apepe went down together in the same attack.[19] Mamae would have been close to them when they perished since families fought as a unit in battle, with the younger males standing in the rear where they carried spare weapons and baskets of stones, which they would launch at the enemy ranks using slings (*maka*). This

[14] Gill, *Myths and Songs*, 36–9; Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 313, 368; Michael Reilly, *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia*, Memoir No. 54 (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 2009), 43.

[15] Kazumichi Katayama and Norio Shibata, eds, *Prehistoric Cook Islands: People, Life and Language*, Part 2: Norio Shibata, *Mangaian–English Dictionary* (Rarotonga: Cook Islands Library and Museum Society, 1999), 35 (hereinafter Shibata, *Mangaian–English Dictionary*); Mataora Harry, personal communication, Oct. 2001.

[16] Reilly, *War and Succession*, 78–83.

[17] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 82; Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 102–3.

[18] Gill, 'Notes to Tau'apepe's Lament for Ata'.

[19] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 159.

would have been Mamae's position in the battle. As Koroa's *mokopuna* he would have received extensive training in the use of various hand weapons as part of his education.[20] It is hard to say precisely how old Mamae was at this time. Later missionaries estimated his age at over 50 years in 1867 and 65 years in 1873 which suggest birth dates around 1817 and 1808, respectively.[21] Te Rangihīroa (Peter Buck) reports that youths were observed closely in their first battle to see how well they acquitted themselves as warriors.[22] The *ariki*, Nūmangātini, recalled that he was 'a lad' at his first battle (Te Atuapai), when he too carried a basket of stones for a sling, but had 'attained to manhood' by his second battle (Rangi'ura).[23] Since Ara'eva occurred around 1821 or 1822, this suggests that an 1808 birth date might be about right, as Mamae would have been 13 or 14 years of age by the estimated time of the battle.

At Ara'eva other important Ngāti Mautara leaders also died, underscoring how decisive this defeat was for them. It became the grave of any ambitions by the Ngāti Mautara to regain their dominance over the island. In several of his more important historical texts written about the succession of holders of the *mangaia* title, Mamae gives details about this conflict at Ara'eva, but nowhere does he link himself to what must have been a personally painful and traumatic event.[24]

The living word of Jesus that Mamae refers to came in two waves to Mangaia. The first in 1823 was unsuccessful in that the people rejected the brief visit by Papeiha, Tauā and Ha'avi, young '*orometua* from the LMS's base in the Society and Leeward Islands. The Ara'eva battle occurred before this event. A major epidemic shortly after that 1823 visit convinced a number of Mangaians to accept the next '*orometua*, Davida and Tī'are from Taha'a in the Leeward Islands, when they came ashore in 1824. The leaders of the descent groups that came to power with Pangemiro (Ngāti Mana'une and Ngāti Tāne), along with the *ariki pā uta* of the day (Nūmangātini), permitted them to spread the Christian message.[25]

Mamae explains what happened following the arrival of Christianity.

> Ē kua mou tēta'i pae i te tuatua a Iesu. Tei te 'ētene te ma'ata o te tangata. Kua tupu 'aka'ou tēta'i tamaki, ē kua 'autū te aronga i mou i te tuatua nā te Atua. Ē kua 'ope maīra [te] tangata i te mou i tā Iesu, 'akaruke atūra i tā te diapolo au rāvenga kikino. Ē kua tupu te 'au o Iesu ē tāna tuatua i teia mānga 'enua iti 'ua nei. Kāre rā i mārama tika [a]i, ē kia tae mai i te au taeake nei, koia 'oki ngā 'orometua

[20] Ibid., 157–9; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 179 (Honolulu, 1934; repr. New York: Kraus, 1971), 300–5.

[21] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 21 Oct. 1867, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 2, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken Collections, Dunedin, NZ, Hocken microfilms 131, reel 45 (hereinafter Hocken micro 131, [reel no.]); Letter from Harris, 13 June 1873, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719783938/view (accessed 6 Oct. 2021). Thanks to Rod Dixon for his comments on Mamae's age.

[22] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 157.

[23] Gill, *Life*, 149.

[24] See Reilly, *War and Succession*, 82.

[25] See Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 92–108, for an extended analysis of these two visits.

> papa‘ā nei. I kite ai te ‘āite ‘anga o te tuatua ora, ē te tū o te au ‘ākono ‘anga, ē te tū tika [a]i o tō Iesu matenga, ē te rāvenga e tae ai te tangata i te Atua rā.[26]
>
> One side stayed with the word of Jesus. The majority of the people were with the heathens. Another battle occurred again, and the party who abided with the word of God was victorious. All the people embraced Jesus, abandoning the devil's wicked works. The reign of Jesus flourished, and his word, in this little bit of a land. But it was really not clear until the friends arrived here, that is, the European missionaries. [Then we] understood the meaning of the living word, and the nature of the way of doing things, and the true nature of Jesus's death, and the way people came to God.

The language Mamae uses for the battle and its aftermath echoes his other writings concerning what turned out to be the final contest for the *mangaia* title. In these other texts the reign is taken by the word of God (‘riro mai ra te ‘au i te tara a te Atua’), or the reign of Jesus (‘te ‘au o Iesu nei’), and the defeated are gathered into the word of God (‘‘Ua rēviri mai te aō i roto i te tara a te Atua’).[27] This final battle took place in February 1828 at Te Ara-a-Tangaroa in Poutoa in the Tamarua *puna* on the eastern side of Mangaia.[28] This is also where the defeated Ngāti Mautara had settled after Ara‘eva,[29] about as far away as they could get from that ignominious memory. It seems reasonable to suppose that the young Mamae was living there also. Whereas Mamae participated in Ara‘eva, this is much less certain for Poutoa. His other historical writings say less about this battle than the one at Ara‘eva. Tereāvai (also known as Te Maru), a priestly medium in Ngāti Mautara, led the adherents to tribal *atua* at the battle of Poutoa. However, his force comprised only some of those outside the Christian community, which rather suggests that the survivors of Mamae's branch, amongst others, opted to stay out of the fighting.[30] As Mamae makes clear in all of his texts on this period, those outside the Christian party finally had to accommodate the new reality.

Mamae's comments regarding a lack of clarity and understanding of the Christian message allude to the shortcomings of early ‘*orometua* in regard to their theological understanding and pastoral practice.[31] A similar view was expressed

[26] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873. Here and elsewhere I have corrected the nineteenth-century practice which abbreviated the postposed verbal particle *ai* (as in *tika‘i*) by reinserting *a* in brackets (*tika [a]i*).

[27] Reilly, *War and Succession*, 85–6. These quotations reflect Mangaian language usages rather than the Rarotongan forms favoured in mission texts; hence ‘tara’ instead of ‘tuatua’ for example.

[28] Ibid., 85; Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 279.

[29] Reilly, *War and Succession*, 82.

[30] Ibid., 85–7.

[31] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 337; Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, ‘Maretu's Life, Work and Context’, in Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, trans., annot. and ed. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific; Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, 1983), 4.

in a 1904 land court hearing in Oneroa: 'Natives brought the Gospel here they knew little but Gill taught them properly & they gave up their evil ways'.[32] Such limitations are reflected in the actions of early church leaders in the 1830s. On the one hand, there were conciliatory gestures made towards the defeated peoples in the years after 1828, such as the provision of planting lands in Tamarua and the selection of leaders like Tereāvai to represent them as deacons in the church. On the other hand, coercion on the part of Christians exacerbated existing tensions; for example, captives from the battle were taken to the Christian settlement of Oneroa where they were made to learn how to read and write.[33] Even after conversion the Oneroa-based authorities used coercion to force people from other districts to reside there. The various '*orometua* also split up into mutually hostile church factions, each supported by their own party of followers. To resolve these difficulties the Papa'ā missionaries in Rarotonga sent the '*orometua*, Maretu, to take charge in 1839. This marked the transfer of the island from Tahitian to Rarotongan supervision, including a shift to church use of Rarotongan Māori in place of the Tahitian language. Maretu remained until a Papa'ā missionary was stationed there in 1845. As part of his efforts to resolve the various sources of conflict afflicting Mangaia and to unite the church community, Maretu also evangelized the many non-Christian families still living in the hinterland. This resulted in a number of the young moving to Oneroa where they learned to read and write and to study the Bible in school classes – the prerequisite for membership in the church community (the '*ekalesia*).[34] This presumably was the path taken by Mamae himself some time after the battle at Poutoa. Concerning his own conversion he later wrote, perhaps echoing his namesake Shadrach's emergence from Nebuchadnezzar's furnace ('umu' in the Rarotongan Bible), ''e kōmotu a'i 'oki au i kiriti'ia mai nō roto i tāna umu' (I was a fire brand pulled from within his [the devil's] oven).[35]

In 1834 Mamae married his life partner, Aravao, who died around 1879.[36] Soon after her death, Mamae wrote to Wyatt Gill about that partnership:

> Ka 'aere atu ai 'ia kite mata atu i tō tātou Ariki mata kakā. Pēnei ake 'ua no'o pa'a i tōna pa'aki a Mamaerua va'ine. Tē tangi nei rāi tēta'i

[32] Miringatangi, 'Witness Testimony in Mission House Oneroa Title', 25 July 1904, Cook Islands Land Court Records (hereinafter CILC), Minute Book, Aitutaki vol. 2 1903–7, p. 127, Auckland University Library, Special Collections (hereinafter AUL/SC), Manuscripts and Archives, A-155, microfilm 1865.

[33] Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 273–7; Reilly, *War and Succession*, 88.

[34] Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, especially 101–3, 109–28.

[35] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873. For Shadrach, see *Good News Bible: Today's English Version* (London: The Bible Societies, 1976), Daniel 3: 19–26; *Te Bibilia Tapu Ra* (Suva: Bible Society, 1972), Daniela III: 19–26.

[36] Mamae does not identify his wife by name in either letter but does in his genealogical writings. See e.g. 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', genealogy 'Ikoke 1'; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 27.

> pae manako kōivi iāia, mā te ma‘ara rāi ē. Ko au[37] tē ka ‘aere atu iāia rā, kāre aia e ‘oki mai iāku nei. E tangi kōivi ‘ua rā teia, nō te mea, ko te 45 teia o tō māua mata‘iti i te no‘o kāpiti ‘anga i teia ao, mei te rā i riro mai ai aia ‘ei tokorua nōku. I ‘akaipoipo‘ia māua i te mata‘iti 1834. Ē teianei, ‘ua tae tika i te tara ē, nā te mate e tatara ia māua, ē kua matara kua ‘aere aia, ē kua no‘o taka‘ua au. Ko te Atua tōku tokorua, ē ko ta‘u [‘ānau ?] i te ‘āngai i ta‘u kōivi. … ‘E mate tangi tō te va‘ine, ē ta‘u Takiaua. Tērā te potonga pūē nō te ‘enua nei ‘ua mātau koe. ‘Ua akatūkē‘ia rā e au. ‘Tangi te va‘ine tangi rā ē, e aro‘a ‘ua te tangi, i raka rava e Gilirua te tangi i te va‘ine ka rua ake nei’. Nā te kōivi ‘ua ia tara, ē tama. Ōtira ‘ua i reira.[38]
>
> I will go and see with my own eyes our Lord with shining eyes. Perhaps I shall rest in the dwelling place of Mrs Mamaerua. I truly mourn the bodily remembrance of her. I am the one who will go to her; she cannot return to me. This is just mourning the body, because we had 45 years living together in this world, from the day she became my partner. We married in the year 1834. And now, I come straight to the word,[39] that we are separated by death; and that she has become divided and gone, while I live on my own. God is my partner, while my family feeds my body. … This is a woman’s death lament, o my Friend. Here is a portion of a chant from this land that you are familiar with. I have altered it. ‘Weeps the woman weeps, the weeping shows tender affection, that is the reason Gilirua (Wyatt Gill) weeps for the woman a second [time]’.[40] Those words simply concern the body, o sir. That’s enough of that.

In 1881 Mamae briefly mentions Aravao again after touching on the ill health of Gill’s wife, Mary (she died in Rarotonga on 12 July 1883): ‘Tērā ta‘u tangi iāia, nō kore i mua i tō mata mei ia Mamae va‘ine i mua i ta‘u mata e ngaro ‘ua atu tōna kōivi’. (‘My sympathies with her, because [she] will disappear before your eyes, like Mrs Mamae whose body was lost before my eyes’.)[41] Together Mamae and Aravao had 11 children, the first-born named Tau‘apepe, in remembrance of

[37] Mamae writes this as ‘koau’.

[38] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879, in William Wyatt Gill, ‘Rarotonga Notes, Songs, Stars, Stories, Letters’, Polynesian Society Records, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington (hereinafter PS/ATL), MS-Papers-1187-059, MS-Copy-Micro-0755-10.

[39] This phrase might be translated as ‘to the point’ since *tara* also refers to something pointed like a horn, spur, etc.

[40] This interpretation of the song passage is a very tentative translation.

[41] Letter from Mamaerua, 18 Māti (March) 1881, PS/ATL, MS-Papers-1187-059, MS-Copy-Micro-0755-10. Note that the letter writer, Mamaerua, refers to his late wife as Mamae *va‘ine* (Mrs Mamae), suggesting again that Mamae and Mamaerua are one and the same person. Death date for Mary Layman Gill: William Wyatt Gill, ‘Voyage through the Outstations of the

Mamae's own father.[42] In his letter Mamae makes much of the Christian distinction between a transitory, mortal body ('kōivi') and an everlasting life where the believer dwells in the presence of the 'Ariki mata kakā' (Lord with shining eyes). The quotation from an ancient lament is an appropriate conclusion to his appreciation of his late partner, and reflects the kinds of knowledge that Mamae had often shared with Gill over many decades. In Mamae's alteration, the lines allude to their shared mourning for Aravao's passing. Bereft and alone Mamae received comfort from his strong belief in God and the support of his extensive family who looked after him in his twilight years.

Deacon and Pastor

The Rarotonga-based missionary, William Gill, was given oversight of Maretu and the Mangaian mission in 1839.[43] He came to Mangaia for a five-month residence between June and September 1841.[44] Writing in 1873 Mamae identifies the Papa'ā missionaries who resided in Mangaia during his lifetime: Gilimetua (William Gill), Misi Gilo (George Gill), Gilirua (William Wyatt Gill) and Misi Haresi (George Alfred Harris). These men were to play an important part in Mamae's life.

> Nā rātou 'oki i 'akataka iāku 'ei tauturu ia rātou i te rave i tēta'i pae o te 'anga'anga tapu nei. … I te mata'iti 'ē 41 i tīmata ai au i te rave rikiriki i tāna 'anga'anga tapu nei. Ē kia tae i te mata'iti 'ē 48, kua tono te 'orometua iāku e 'aere au i tēta'i 'ōire e 'akakite ia rātou i te ora a te Atua. Ē kia tae i te mata'iti 'ē 52, kua 'oki mai au i tōku 'ōire tika [a]i. Kua no'o a Gilirua i taua 'ōire rā, … . Ē kia tae i te mata'iti 'ē 57, kua tono 'aka'ou a Gilirua iāku e 'oki au i taua 'ōire rā. Kua 'aere mai aia i te 'ōire ma'ata i Oneroa nei, nō te mea kua 'aere a Gili i Rarotonga. … Ē kia tae i te mata'iti 'ē 60, kua 'oki mai au i Oneroa nei rāi i te pae o te 'orometua. … Ē kia tae i te mata'iti 'ē 71, kua tae mai a Misi Haresi nei, i te marama ia Aperila, i te rā 'ē 24. Ē kia tae i te 72 o te mata'iti, kua 'aere atu a Gilirua. Ē kua no'o au i tō Haresi pae e teianoa [a]i. Kua tae i te 32 ōku mata'iti i te rāvenga i te 'anga'anga a tō tātou tumurangatira.[45]
>
> They [the Papa'ā missionaries] selected me to assist them to do some part of the holy work. … In the year 1841 I tried to do a little of his holy work. When it came to 1848, the missionary bid me to go to another village and to make known to them the life of God. When

Hervey Group', June–July 1883, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.

[42] 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', genealogy 'Ikoke 1'.

[43] Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 280; Letter from John Williams, Tahiti, 27 Mar. 1839, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 12, Folder 1, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 29.

[44] Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 130 n. 47.

[45] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873.

> it came to the year 1852, I returned to my own village. Wyatt Gill dwelt at that yonder village, … . When it came to the year 1857, Wyatt Gill again bid me to return to that village. He went to the large village of Oneroa because George Gill was going to Rarotonga. … When it came to the year 1860, I returned to Oneroa to be at the side of the missionary …. When it came to the year 1871, Mr Harris arrived, in the month of April, the 24th day. When it came to the year 1872, Wyatt Gill left. I then stayed at Harris's side, up until now. I have attained to 32 years of doing the work of our great master.

Mamae records his first service as occurring in 1841, presumably during William Gill's residency when Mamae seems to have been appointed to a church role. He may have become a deacon in the Oneroa church for in 1848 this was the position he held when George Gill appointed him as the new pastor in Tamarua village, following the death of the incumbent (Anania) in September.[46] Judging from George Gill's description, Mamae impressed him:

> He has been my assistant from the first of my landing here & is a man of superior knowledge for a native. For many years he has cherished a desire to go far hence among the Gentiles, but it seemed to be more his duty to stay at home. For 1 year he was with me for 3 evenings of every week instructing me in the langauge, and at the same time receiving illumination for himself from the word of God, indeed he has always been storing his mind anxious to receive and communicate the knowledge of the word of life. The Churches unanimously elected him to the office he now fills.[47]

From Gill's arrival in 1845 Mamae became his assistant and personal instructor in the Mangaian language. In exchange, Gill provided him private instruction in Bible studies. Mamae proved an exemplary student. His ability to remember what he had learned may have been a skill he acquired during his orally based education with Koroa, when students were required to memorize large bodies of information. Mamae's desire to become a missionary to non-Christians elsewhere was one he shared with other devout church members. The best were often recruited for the LMS's institution in Rarotonga, where they received training as pastors. For example, William Gill took some Mangaian youths there for training in 1841.[48] Many served the LMS in their various Pacific missions, as well as more locally.[49]

[46] Letter from George Gill, 26 Mar. 1849, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 37.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Michael Reilly, 'Transforming Mangaia's Spiritual World: Letters from the Early Christian Community of Oneroa', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116, no. 1 (March 2007): 43. This training institution is now called Takamoa Theological College.

[49] See the monument commemorating Cook Islands missionaries erected in the grounds of Takamoa Theological College at Avarua, Rarotonga. Islands listed include Sāmoa, New Hebrides,

It would seem that Mamae's position assisting the European '*orometua* meant that he could not be spared for missionary work. That the local churches unanimously endorsed Mamae's appointment to Tamarua reflected the esteem in which he was held within the '*ekalesia*. That community regard may have brought Mamae to Gill's attention when he first arrived to begin his mission work on the island.

Although often called teachers, like other Indigenous '*orometua* Mamae's work was that of a pastor in the strict sense of the term. As Wyatt Gill explains, these leaders regularly preached and taught their congregations (using sermons they had composed), administered the Lord's supper, baptized infants, and received and instructed candidates seeking church fellowship.[50] Mamae actually continued to serve at Tamarua until July 1853 (rather than until 1852 as he later thought), when this 'excellent teacher' returned with his family to Oneroa.[51] His time at Tamarua overlapped with Wyatt Gill's, who went there in 1852, allowing them to get to know each other well.[52] In 1857 George Gill was reassigned to Rarotonga. This required Wyatt Gill to take his place at Oneroa while Mamae returned as '*orometua* in Tamarua.[53] Wyatt Gill assessed Mamae's character at the time he resumed duties there.

> He is a man of the right spirit; – eminently humble and devoted; – possessing a good share of intelligence and energy. I have great confidence in him. He is a tried man; and is held in high esteem amongst his fellow countrymen.[54]

In December 1859 Gill reassigned Mamae to Oneroa to assist him,[55] the changeover occurring, to judge from Mamae's words, the following year. Mamae remained in this role for the rest of his service. Although often described as an assistant, Mamae's role was more significant than that title might suggest. Gill later called him his co-pastor.[56] When Harris succeeded Gill he regularly referred to Mamae as his coadjutor.[57]

Loyalty Islands and Papua (New Guinea). Also see Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity* (Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies; Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2005), 67–8.

[50] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 10 Aug. 1869, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 32, Folder 1, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 46.

[51] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 6 Jan.1854, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 25, folder 6, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 39.

[52] Letter from George Gill, 30 Apr. 1852, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, folder 9, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 38.

[53] Resolutions of a meeting held at Mangaia, 9 Feb. 1857, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 1, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41.

[54] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 1 July 1857, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 1, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41, underlining in the original letter.

[55] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 22 Dec. 1859, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41.

[56] Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.

[57] E.g. Letter from Harris, 20 Nov. 1879, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 5, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 51.

As part of that role, he would substitute for Harris when the latter was unwell.[58] When Harris was planning his furlough to England he gave Mamae 'the general superintendence' of the Oneroa church and its staff.[59] As an '*orometua* Harris put him on a par with Maretu.[60]

In later years Mamae began to suffer from ailments that impacted upon but never ended his mission service. Late in 1867 Gill reported that Mamae's eyesight had got so bad he had 'to hold the Bible close to his face when reading. I am afraid he will get blind'. Gill requested the LMS send him pebble glasses, clearly hoping that their high degree of magnification might help.[61] The following year Gill reported that the eyes of his 'valued assistant' remained bad, and as a result he could no longer superintend the children's school, which was one of Mamae's responsibilities. Although he was replaced in that role by another teacher, Gill explained that he 'is altogether too valuable to be dispensed with. The weight of his character and extensive influence; his excellent preaching talents; and his good service for many past years render him still a valuable assistant'.[62] He was 'a most gifted but humble-minded man [who] has been most faithfully and usefully engaged for His Master'.[63] Spectacles may eventually have been provided, allowing Mamae to continue working. He would have had to purchase them by selling trade goods. Thus some years later he mentions awaiting an improved crop of *māniota* (manioc, cassava, *Manihot esculenta* Crantz) in order to provide him with the income to purchase some glasses ('ēta'i tīti'a mata').[64]

Despite Mamae's advanced age and health issues, he remained someone who Gill wished to keep at his side, despite the consequential limitations on Mamae's pastoral role. Gill's successor, George Harris, held similar views: Mamae was his 'aged & much esteemed coadjutor'.[65] Harris, writing in 1883, considered him a 'clear & intelligent preacher', although the effects of age and his other debilities meant that he was not 'what he once was'.[66] By this time Mamae was 'bent with age & compelled to walk with a staff'.[67] Nonetheless, when Harris was planning his furlough in 1883 he explained to the LMS directors his selection of the elderly Mamae to supervise the

[58] Letter from Harris, 30 June 1874, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 5, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719826702/view (accessed Aug. 2021).
[59] Letter from Harris, 23 Oct. 1883, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.
[60] Letter from Harris, 1 June 1883, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.
[61] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 21 Oct. 1867, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 2, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 45.
[62] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 2 Jan. 1868, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 5, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 45.
[63] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 10 Aug. 1869.
[64] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879.
[65] E.g. Letter from Harris, 30 June 1874; Letter from Harris, 6 July 1882, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.
[66] Letter from Harris, 1 June 1883.
[67] Letter from Harris, 6 July 1882.

Oneroa church: 'Altho Sadaraka is infirm it would not be wise on my part to slight him by putting another in his place. Besides he still has more power over the church than any other native & is of all Teachers the most trustworthy'.[68] Harris also planned support for his coadjutor in the person of his talented son, Aiteina, whom Harris intended as his father's eventual successor. Like him, Aiteina had 'mental & preaching qualifications' far in advance of anyone else in his generation.[69] Not surprisingly, Aiteina also inherited much of his father's cultural knowledge which in later years he would share with the Māori anthropologist, Te Rangihīroa.

Community Leader and Representative

Mamae's role in the church meant that he was looked to by the wider community as a leader and community spokesman. In 1846 he wrote a letter to the LMS directors in London on behalf of the Oneroa '*ekalesia*. In it he vividly describes the effects of a powerful hurricane upon the island and at the conclusion requests the directors' assistance with providing any goods to aid with the rebuilding. That he was chosen for this task confirms that he held a leadership role as deacon at the time. His peers may also have valued his penmanship. Mamae's handwriting is precise and well formed: Harris and Wyatt Gill complimented it as careful and beautiful.[70] The following passages describe the impact of the hurricane.

> Tērā taua rāvenga nei i te marama rā ko Mareti. Kua 'akatupu te Atua i tēta'i matangi ma'atama'ata 'ua atu. Kāre ake rāi i kite ana i tō mātou 'enua mei muatangāna mai rāi. Teia te tū o taua matangi nei, 'e mea ririnui. I te 'ākirāta, kua no'o te Atua ki runga i te matangi, ē kua rave viviki atūra i tāna 'anga'anga; ē, kia avatea, kua mutu. Kāre e mārikonga i te tangata, ē te au mea katoa tā te tangata i rave. Kua 'ope tākiri te au 'are o te tangata i te 'inga ki raro. Kāre 'ua 'e 'are toe, māri rā 'o tēta'i pāpāki o te 'are o te 'oromedua. Kua 'inga rava tēta'i pāpāki o te au 'are o te tangata, ē tēta'i pāpāki 'oki, [–], kua meitaki. Kāreka te ma'ata kua 'ope rava i te 'inga, ē te au rākau mama'ata, ē te au rākau mea riki, ē te au rākau kai. Kua 'ope rava ia i te 'uri'ia ki raro. Kāre 'ua e mārikonga i te tangata i taua rā ra. Kua pipiri 'aere 'ua i roto i te mato ē ki raro ake i te patu. Kua piri tākiri tō mātou 'enua i taua 'uri'ia nei. Kāre 'ua 'e ngā'i toe, 'e 'okota'i iti ake. 'Okota'i rāi tū i ngā 'ōire, tei Oneroa nei, tei Ivirua, ē tei Tamarua. … Auē auē! Kua 'ākara mātou i tō mātou 'are toka, koia 'oki

[68] Letter from Harris, 23 Oct. 1883.

[69] Letter from Harris, 6 July 1882.

[70] Letter from Harris, 13 June 1873, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719783938/view (accessed Aug. 2021); Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.

> Pūnanga ē Balacan, kāre ʻua. Kua ʻungaʻungā tītī rava i raro mei te ʻungaʻunga o te tai rā. Kia tae i te Sapati, kua putuputu mātou i te kāinga o te ʻoromedua, i te ngāʻi ātea ʻua e ʻakamori i te Atua. Ē teianei, kua ʻakatū mātou i tētaʻi ʻare ʻou. ʻE ʻare rākau ʻua, kāre i ʻare toka, ē, kua oti, kua ō mātou ki roto.[71]
>
> That occurrence was in the month of March. God produced a very great wind indeed. We had truly never known such in our land from the old days. That wind was of a very powerful kind. At dawn, God sat upon the wind, and his work was done quickly; and, by late in the morning it had ended. People, and all the things people had made, were in a state of chaos. People's houses were completely thrown down. Simply no house remained, save for one part of the missionary's house. A portion of people's houses had certainly fallen, but another portion was fine. But many were completely overthrown, as also were the large trees, the little trees, and the food trees. These were completely downed by the hurricane. People were simply in chaos that day. [People] crammed into the rocks and underneath the stone walls.[72] Our land was drawn tightly together by that hurricane. Simply no places remained, only small things. It was just the same in the villages, here at Oneroa, at Ivirua and at Tamarua. … Alas! Alas! We saw that our stone house, namely, Pūnanga or Balacan (Barbican), was no more.[73] It had been entirely dashed to tiny pieces like the sands of the sea. When Sunday arrived, we gathered together at the residence of the missionary, worshipping God in the open area. And now, we have erected another new house. It is simply a wooden building, not a stone structure, and completed, has fitted us inside.

One of the vulnerabilities of the new Christian villages such as Oneroa was their location on the coastlines, intended by the missionaries to facilitate sea communications by ship. In the pre-Christian era, Mangaians were located inland, near their planting lands, with the wall-like *makatea*, an ancient upraised coral reef, standing between them and any destructive winds and storm surges. In this letter the *makatea* is described as 'te mato' (the rocks): from the ground its cliff faces can measure between about 20 and 45 metres in height while in places the *makatea* is as wide as 2 kilometres.[74] This dominant landscape feature is riddled with caves and

[71] Letter from Sadaraka, 4 Mē (May) 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.

[72] The phrase 'the rocks' is a translation of 'te mato', a reference to the cliff face of the *makatea* where people gather in caves for protection during hurricanes. George Gill translates this passage: 'The men of our land entered the rocks and the holes of the caves to dwell there in fear and sadness'. See his translation following Sadaraka's letter: CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.

[73] In his translation George Gill gives the correct version of this name as Barbican.

[74] Patrick Vinton Kirch, 'The Mangaia Socio-Ecosystem: Environmental and Ethnohistoric Perspectives', in *Tangatatau Rockshelter: The Evolution of an Eastern Polynesian Socio-Ecosystem*, ed. Patrick

it is in these that the people would have sheltered from the hurricane, as indeed do their descendants today.

The '*are toka* (stone house) called Pūnanga (Barbican) refers to Oneroa's new chapel which was being built atop the *makatea* under George Gill's supervision. He designed it to resemble the Congregationalist Barbican Chapel in London after which it was named. The Mangaians gave it its equivalent name, Pūnanga (fortress, tower, stronghold): a barbican is a projecting watchtower over the gate of a fortification.[75] At the time this hurricane struck the structure had been completed and it was only awaiting being fitted out with windows and furnishings. The building measured 27.43 metres (90 feet) in length, 18.6 metres (61 feet) in width and 7.3 metres (24 feet) in height. The wall thickness was 0.9 metres (3 feet) at its base and rose to 0.6 metres (2 feet). This was a new and ambitious kind of church design using local coral rock in place of the previous wattle and lime construction of earlier chapels. The '*ekalesia* were understandably proud of their hard work: it had been the community, including its children, who had had to carry all of the building materials to the site and to erect the structure and fit it out.[76] As Mamae explains, the '*ekalesia* replaced this fallen wonder with a temporary wooden structure, able to be erected more quickly and presumably built in a more traditional style. Later on, they would replace this with another stone church, this time built on level ground below the *makatea* and facing out towards the sea.

George Gill was a witness to the terror of this hurricane and he also wrote a vivid description for the LMS directors. He explains that the island had already suffered damage from a hurricane earlier in February when the much stronger one hit early on the morning of 17 March. He describes the effects of the wind and storm surges on coastal Oneroa:

> The stones from the beach were carried by the wind like hail and fell upon us and broke our windows & the whole house itself was rocking … there was no rain, all was wind bringing the foam and spray from

Vinton Kirch (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2017), 9–12. I converted some imperial measurements to metrics.

[75] Letter from George Gill, 7 Feb. 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34; meanings of barbican and *pūnanga*: *The Chambers Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers Harrap Publishers, 1998), 128; Jasper Buse with Raututi Taringa, *Cook Islands Maori Dictionary*, ed. Bruce Biggs and Rangi Moeka'a (Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, 1995), 371; Shibata, *Mangaian–English Dictionary*, 232; Stephen Savage, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga* (Wellington: Department of Island Territories, 1962; repr., Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific; Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, 1980), 279. For *pūnanga* as a 'tower': *Te Bibilia Tapu*, Genese XI: 4; *Good News Bible*, Genesis 11: 4. The London chapel's name was likely derived from a nearby barbican as it stood in the precincts of the city's old Roman fortress: City of London, 'Barbican Estate History', https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/barbican-estate/barbican-estate-history (accessed 6 Oct. 2021); Niel Gunson, personal communication, 27 Sept. 2021.

[76] Reilly, 'Transforming Mangaia's Spiritual World', 44–9; Letter from George Gill, 1 May 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.

> the seas like a heavy shower. Every now & then there would be a fearful rush of water on the beach levelling the houses and the fences and scattering them like sand.

At a later stage, the wind changed and took the form of a whirlwind which struck the village, so that within moments the tallest trees were toppled along with 50 or more houses. The sea then surged inland again. At the same time Oneroa was hit by an even stronger wind gust so that 'the very land seemed to shake'. With that, seven large houses, the school houses and the old chapel all collapsed. These structures would have been on the flat lands behind the beach and immediately below the *makatea*. The new chapel still stood, although the roof thatch was damaged, but then there was another severe wind gust: 'I saw the new building rock, & then it was lifted up and then I saw it fall. Alas! Alas! My heart was just broken'. Buildings were levelled throughout the island. That night people took shelter in the rocks and caves. More seriously, the people's plantations were devastated.[77] Over the succeeding nine months the island was affected by a scarcity of food until people were able to replant.[78]

Following his appointment as a pastor, Mamae participated in the writing of further letters to the LMS. In 1864 he and his two colleagues, Katuke the '*orometua* at Ivirua and Teariki at Tamarua, writing on behalf of the Mangaian church, contributed to wider missionary correspondence requesting a new mission ship for the Pacific following the wrecking of the previous one. The three '*orometua* wrote to say that the church on Mangaia had made a special collection towards funding a new vessel, amounting to $400.00 (£80.0.0) based on the individual contributions of various trade goods, particularly arrowroot and coconut oil, as well as chickens and cash. They argued that such a ship was particularly needed in order that young men from Mangaia and elsewhere could be recruited to preach the gospel to those Pacific peoples still living in 'heathen darkness'.[79]

The collection of various commodities from individual Mangaians (another common item being fishing nets) was a common LMS practice undertaken annually as a membership subscription. Contributions of cash came from Mangaians who had sold commodities directly to visiting traders. The LMS contributions would then be shipped (often on the mission vessel) to agents in Tahiti, Sydney or elsewhere for sale, with the income received being used to defray the costs of the mission. This process was also used for specific purchases, typically items such as Bibles.[80]

[77] Ibid.

[78] Letter from George Gill, 30 Nov. 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket E, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.

[79] Translation of letter from Sadaraka, Katuke and Teariki, 29 Dec. 1864, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 44. There is no original Mangaian language letter on file. The denominations of money used are Chilean dollars, the currency used for financial transactions in the Pacific at this time, and the English pound.

[80] The business concerning contributions to the mission can be found throughout many missionary letters in which it was a key reporting item: e.g. Letter from George Gill, 30 Apr. 1852; Letter from

In 1865, the LMS directors requested that Wyatt Gill move to Rarotonga, a request which for various reasons he declined.[81] Ultimately, the LMS opted to appoint James Chalmers to Rarotonga instead, leaving Gill in Mangaia.[82] The news that Gill might be reassigned, thereby leaving the island without any European missionaries, prompted the leaders and people of Mangaia to write collectively in protest to the LMS. The letter is personally signed by the *ariki*, Nūmangātini, his six *kavana* (district chiefs), the three '*orometua* (including Mamae) and the deacons on behalf of all the members of the three churches, amounting in total to 29 signatories. The letter itself was written once again by Mamae, demonstrating his important role in communicating Mangaia's views to the outside world. In a postscript to his translation, Gill stressed that this letter was the leaders' 'own suggestion' and he admitted to having 'some scruples' about forwarding it on, perhaps concerned at how the directors might respond.[83] There is no indication of what they thought, although given that the LMS changed their minds, it suggests that their hearing the voice of the Mangaian people on the matter may well have been beneficial.

> Ka tāpū mātou i tā mātou 'oromedua, koia 'oki a Gilirua nei. I tāpū ana 'oki mātou ia Gili, riro atūra aia i Rarotonga, ē 'oki atu nā aia i Beritane nā. Ē teia mai nei 'oki tē tiki ia Gilirua e 'apai 'oki aia ki Rarotonga? Auē! E tō mātou aronga medua ē! Kāre āinei kōtou i 'akataka ia rāua 'ei 'oromedua nei mātou? Ē tē riro nei 'oki 'ei 'oromedua nā tō Rarotonga.
>
> Tērā tō mātou 'inangaro, kia no'o tāmou rāi tā mātou i rotopū ia mātou e tae 'ua atu i te tuātau e 'oki atu ei aia. Kia 'oki atu rāi nō rotopū atu ia mātou nei. E tika [a]i, kia pa'u mai tēta'i 'oromedua 'ōu, kia pērā rāi aia. Ko tō mātou ia anoano tika [a]i. 'Auraka kōtou e pekapeka mai i tā mātou tuatua. 'Auraka kōtou e manako mai ē, kua 'irinaki mātou i te tangata! Ko tō tātou pū rāi ko Iesu tō tātou 'irinaki 'anga tika [a]i, ē nāna 'oki i 'akataka i tōna au tāvini, 'ei 'akakite mai ia mātou i tāna tuatua ora, ē 'ei 'āngai mai ia mātou nei i te ū, koia rāi 'oki tāna 'evangelia tapu nei. Riro atūra 'oki rātou 'ei medua nō mātou i tā te vaerua 'anga'anga rā.

George Gill, 19 Oct. 1852, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, Folder 9, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 38; Letter from Wyatt Gill, 1 Feb. 1862, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL Box 29, folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 43.

[81] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 27 Apr. 1865, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2718364349/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note this location for Hervey Group letters does not square with the catalogue for this box which locates this letter at Folder 3, Jacket C.

[82] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 25 May 1867, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 2, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 45.

[83] Gill, Translation of letter written by the King, Governors, Deacons and Churches of Mangaia, 3 June 1865, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2718356426/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note the box catalogue locates this letter at Folder 3, Jacket C.

> Ē kua mātau ʻoki mātou i te noʻo kāpipiti ʻanga aia i rotopū ia mātou nei, mei te medua e noʻo i rotopū i tāna au tamariki rā. Ē teianei ē te au medua ē, ko tā mātou ia pati ia kōtou na ē. Ka mau rāi mātou i tā mātou ʻoromedua, koia a Gilirua nei. Nō te mea ko tā matou ʻua nei ngā ʻoromedua i ʻakapērā ia, ko Gili na, ē ko Gilirua nei ʻoki. I manako ei mātou ē, kia ʻoki atu rāi tā mātou mei rotopū ia mātou nei e tika [a]i. Mē tika i te Atua tē ʻoki atu i tē ʻoki atu i te tuātau e tau ei rā.[84]
>
> We will retain our missionary, that is to say, Wyatt Gill. We should also have held [George] Gill back from being taken to Rarotonga, and then returning to Britain. And now, are you fetching Wyatt Gill to take him also to Rarotonga? Alas! O our parents! Did you not appoint them both to be our missionaries? But [they] are being taken as missionaries for Rarotonga.
>
> This is our wish, that [Wyatt Gill] remains amongst us until the time comes that he returns [to England]. [He] will surely return amongst us here. It's the right thing to replace any new missionary like that. This is our true wish. Do not be vexed with what we write to you. Do not think that we rely on people! We truly rely on our undoubted master, Jesus, and also his servants that he appoints to make known to us his living word, and to feed us with milk, that is, his Holy Gospel. They become as parents for us in the work of the spirit.
>
> We are also accustomed to him living close together amongst us, like the father who dwells amongst his children. And now, o parents, this is our request of you. We will hold on to our missionary, that is, Wyatt Gill (Kirirua). Because for us these missionaries, [George] Gill and Wyatt Gill, are also like that. We think it is right that [they] should return amongst us. When God permits [they] return, return [them] at the appropriate time.

The polite tension is evident here between Rarotonga, the LMS centre for the Hervey Group, and Mangaia as an independent island with its own leaders and church. For Mangaia, to have both its European missionaries taken away and relocated to Rarotonga clearly suggested a diminishment of Mangaia's position; in traditional terms perhaps, a lessening of its *mana* as a unique society and culture. Nonetheless, the leaders are careful to stress that they do not rely upon the missionaries, but rather on the message they teach as ministers of Jesus Christ. Indigenous metaphors are deployed: the nourishment the people receive from Christ's message (in the form of milk), and the parental-like spiritual guidance and instruction of the missionaries. In these images there are echoes of the *tamariki ʻāngai* relationship: the offspring who are given to other family members who care for them as their feeding parents (*metua*

[84] Letter from the *Ariki*, *Gavana*, *Diakono* (Deacons) and the *ʻEkalesia*, written by Sadaraka, 3 Iūnu (June) 1865, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2718356031/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note the box catalogue locates this letter at Folder 3, Jacket C.

ʻāngai). Like Mamae's life with Koroa, such carers are expected to instruct the children they are responsible for. The missionaries are not standing in a dominative relationship as parents over their children (as Europeans might have conceived it) but, rather, as the letter makes clear, they all live closely together within the warm embrace of the extended family, just like the typical Mangaian family. By living and working amongst the people, these Papaʻā missionaries have been accepted and become a part of the Mangaian community. Hence the motivation behind this letter: to make straight the proper and fitting relationship of Mangaia with its Papaʻā missionaries which the LMS, by their proposed actions, put at risk. As the letter respectfully addresses the LMS directors themselves as parents to the people of Mangaia, there is an expectation that they will listen to what the letter writers are saying. This familial imagery is common in other Mangaian letters to the LMS, reflecting the ancient Christian idea of the church as a family of believers who care for one another as brothers and sisters in Christ.[85]

Mamae's leadership role in the Oneroa church meant that he assumed a prominent role in secular activities when required. On 7 August 1858 a cutter (a smaller decked sailing vessel with one mast) was driven ashore at Oneroa. At this time Mamae was in charge of the mission station while Wyatt Gill was away in Rarotonga. Mamae urged the *ariki*, Nūmangātini, and 'leading men' in Oneroa, to 'exert their authority' to prevent the boat being wrecked. They organised the men and women, equipped with long ropes, to drag the boat over the reef, out of reach of the breakers. Mamae then 'invited' willing adults at that time attending a church school class to help repair the damaged cutter. This took them three weeks of hard work. All of it was done, as Wyatt Gill stresses, without charge as the cutter's owner was poor.[86]

In 1879 Mamae became involved in a far more serious situation, the succession crisis following Nūmangātini's death on 22 November 1878. This resulted in serious disturbances involving the six *kavana* who, along with the *ariki*, formed the principal ruling group, the *aronga mana*.[87] Originally, Nūmangātini was to be succeeded by his son, Tāvita (or Davida), a survivor of a Peruvian slave ship who returned to Mangaia in 1865.[88] He was the offspring of Nūmangātini's marriage to a Mangaian woman, Araʻeva. Tāvita is understood to have died in 1877, leaving behind three young sons: his eldest child, Teariki Noʻoroa (or Tāvita-iti), was born in July 1872. On his death bed, Nūmangātini informed his family and the *kavana* that his successor was to be his adult son, Metuakore Tione (John)

[85] See Reilly, 'Transforming Mangaia's Spiritual World', 42.

[86] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 30 Oct. 1858, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 3, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41. Account published in Gill, *Life*, 351–2.

[87] Unless otherwise indicated, the following outline of the crisis comes from George Harris's letter, 5 June 1879, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 5, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 51; supplemented by Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Mangaia and the Mission*, ed. with intro. by Rod Dixon and Teaea Parima (Suva: IPS, USP in association with B.P. Bishop Museum, 1993), 9, 45.

[88] On Mangaia's experience of Peruvian slavers, see Reilly, 'Mangaia in the Colonial World, 1863–1899', *Pacific Studies* 31, no. 1 (March 2008), 4–6.

Trego, born in 1856 to Nūmangātini's fifth wife, Tute'enuki of Rarotonga.[89] A couple of the *kavana* were unenthusiastic, doubtless preferring an *ariki* whose antecedents were Mangaian, as No'oroa's were. Harris considered there was widespread 'prejudice' against unions with non-Mangaians.

At Nūmangātini's funeral, one of the *kavana* stood and nominated two *ariki* (No'oroa and Tione Trego) in place of just Trego, which prompted 'many dissentient voices'. Then in January 1879 the Tamarua people, led by their *kavana*, Ngariu, came en masse to Oneroa, with much beating of drums, and re-elected No'oroa while dethroning Trego. Thus burst upon Mangaia what Harris calls 'Party spirit' with the result that the *aronga mana* eventually became split down the middle: three *kavana* supported Nūmangātini's wishes for Trego to succeed and three advocated for No'oroa. Harris clearly feared the consequences of this impasse and suggested to church leaders from Tamarua, including the '*orometua*, Koreiti, that they arrange a meeting of all the *kavana* to seek an amicable solution. Such were the divisions that a couple of *kavana* only reluctantly attended at Harris's personal request. Mamae was the only mediator acceptable to all of them, but after a long discussion he could not find any common ground; neither party was willing to make concessions.

The two sides continued 'scheming, planning & working against each other', which promised more public disturbances by one or the other party. However, the deadlocked *kavana* met again and came up with a compromise whereby the two *ariki* would be installed conjointly at a public ceremony. Whether this was their intention at the time or not, they had devised a solution which echoed the ancient practice of dual *ariki*, the *ariki pā uta* and the *ariki pā tai*, who were formerly responsible for ritual pertaining to the *atua*. This diarchy restored peace by accommodating Trego's dominant personality alongside No'oroa's more passive nature, as well as the partisan preferences of their respective supporters.[90] At the request of the *kavana*, on 29 May 1879 Harris conducted a widely attended church ceremony where he anointed the heads of both No'oroa and Trego. 'The arrangement is that John Trego is to rule during his life and at his death the grandson of the late King is to reign absolutely'.[91] Even so, when calling out the names of leaders in the division of the feast forming part of the formal installation of the two *ariki*, Ngariu sought to undermine

[89] Birth and death dates provided by Rod Dixon, based on data in Register of Births, LMS, Oneroa, Mangaia. Tāvita's other sons were Tangituakana, born August 1874, and Tamapi, born November 1876. Tione (John) Trego may have been named after George and Sarah Gill's son by that name. Trego was Sarah's family name. Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 53 n. 5. Note that in his 5 June 1879 letter Harris states that Davida died shortly after Wyatt Gill's departure (1872), and that Trego was 26 years old in 1879 (making him born in 1853). I have accepted Dixon's information based as it is on the birth register. Harris may have misremembered the exact dates.

[90] The renewal of dual *ariki* was suggested by the editors in Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 53 n. 6. Rod Dixon suggested to me that the *ariki pā uta* and *ariki pā tai* interpretation was a much later ex post facto solution. This section has benefitted from Rod's help.

[91] As it happened, No'oroa died before Trego, in 1922. Trego then was sole *ariki* until his death in 1929 at which point the dual *ariki* was re-established. Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 53 n. 6.

the arrangements by only naming No'oroa (thereby again delegitimising Trego), but public opinion was strongly against him and, perhaps experiencing '*akamā* (shame), he fled to Tamarua.

In a letter to Wyatt Gill, written on 24 May, Mamae gave vent to views about contemporary Mangaia. It seems reasonable to suppose that his comments reflect the frustrations he experienced while mediating the crisis. Parts of the translation may not be as accurate as desired owing to conjectured word meanings.

> Tērā tēta'i tara, ko te tū o Mangaia i teianei tuātau. Kāre koe e kite i tō te tangata tū tikāi tūtū kēkē.[92] Kāre e 'angi[93] i tō tāua tuātau rā. Tei tō teina tēta'i ngā'i raka, nō 'inangaro kikino. Kāre e 'angi iā'au i te kimi i te rāvenga e reka ai te tangata. 'Ua mātau koe i te pā 'inangaro o Mangaia. Kāre rā ē, e kino tāna. E kino rā i tā tēta'i 'akarongo 'anga. I tūkē teia aronga Gavana. Kāre e mou i te tara 'o ta'i. I ko 'oki'okia 'ua ia te tara.[94] Tērā ngā tangata raka i teia tuātau: 'o Puakeri, 'o Anui, 'o Miringatangi, 'o taua tamaiti iti 'ua rā[95] te ō i te rēviri 'anga o te aronga nunui. Inārā,[96] e 'akarongo 'ua mai koe. Me 'au, kua 'au; me kino, 'ua kino; ka 'au pa'a. Kāre 'oki i taka.[97]
>
> This is a story about the state of Mangaia at this time now. You will not know of the people; a truly different sort. It is not as easy[98] as in our time. Your younger brother is in a troubled place due to bad desires.[99] It will not be so easy for you to look for a way that the people are pleased by. You are familiar with the range of desires of Mangaia. But no, it is wicked. The obedience of some is bad. This *kavana* group is different. No-one keeps the word. The word

[92] Mamae writes 'tu tu keke'.

[93] Mamae writes 'āngi': he seems to use macrons to indicate a preceding glottal stop, thus *'angi*.

[94] Mamae writes 'ko okiokia' as if two words. The meaning of 'ko' here is not clear to me. Thus my translation is an approximate one.

[95] Mamae writes this phrase over two lines: 'o taua tamaiti/ iti ua ra … '. I've interpreted the passage to refer to a small child; its very young age underscored by the reduplication of 'iti' (small).

[96] Mamae writes this 'I na ra'.

[97] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879.

[98] 'Easy' is my conjecture for *'angi* based on some suggestive meanings in cognate languages, see Herbert W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed. (Wellington: Government Printer, 1971), 11: *angi*, free, without hindrance; move freely, float; J. Frank Stimson with the collaboration of Donald Stanley Marshall, *A Dictionary of some Tuamotuan Dialects of the Polynesian Languages* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1964), 42, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-6343-1: *aŋi*, move, rise freely, be unhindered, float -freely, -lightly (with connotation of upwind motion); free, unencumbered, unhindered, light.

[99] Here Mamae is referring to himself figuratively as Gill's younger brother, demonstrating the warm and affectionate nature of their relationship since this marked the ideal for such a dyad. 'Troubled' is my conjecture for *raka*, but another might be 'fearful', see Stimson, *Dictionary of some Tuamotuan Dialects*, 427, which glosses *raka* as fearsome, inspiring -awe, -dread, etc.

> just keeps going backwards. That's the troublesome[100] people of today: Puakeri, Anui, Miringatangi; that small child has become involved in the gathering of the large group. Nevertheless, you should pay heed. If peaceful, it was peaceful; if bad, it was bad; perhaps it was peaceful. It was not certain.

For Mamae, Mangaia's current crop of leaders were not as trustworthy or reliable as those of Gill's time on the island, a decade or so prior, when leaders like Nūmangātini dominated the island. Mamae's repeated reference to being peaceful or bad suggests that he was very concerned about the consequences for the island's social cohesion. The reference to the 'small child' may allude to No'oroa who in May was still only 6 years old. The mention of Puakeri, Anui and Miringatangi suggests that they were key players in the succession crisis. Puakeri, or Puakeri Karomatangi, was aged about 67 in 1879, and was *rangatira* (sub-district chief) of Maro, a *tapere* (sub-district) in Tava'enga *puna*.[101] Little is known concerning Anui, although a man of that name registered the birth of a son in June 1868, suggesting that he was an older man at the time of the crisis.[102] Miringatangi, or Miringatangi Teakaraanga, a former student at the LMS training institution in Rarotonga, was an *akavānui* (judge) of Veitātei *puna* who Te Rangihīroa depicts as a key supporter of Trego for *ariki*.[103] Miringatangi retained his *akavānui* position during the British Protectorate period (1888–1901).[104] At a 1912 land court case he is described as 'a very old man of high standing'.[105]

Tribal Historian and Man of the Land

Mamae was a respected tribal historian who freely shared his knowledge with Wyatt Gill. Mamae wrote down the 'greater portion' of the traditions that formed the basis for Gill's two major studies of the island's myths and history (*Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* and *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*).[106] These works established Gill's reputation as a missionary-ethnographer, and brought Mangaia to the attention of scholars internationally. Fifty-six of the 70 songs in that collection of traditions were recorded by Mamae,

[100] 'Troublesome' is my conjecture for *raka*, but another might be 'dreadful'. Ibid., where *raka* is glossed as inspiring -awe, -dread, -horror.

[101] Information on Puakeri supplied by Rod Dixon. As a 16 year old in 1828 Puakeri was taken from Mangaia on board a Spanish whaler, ultimately travelling to Europe and living in Spain, before returning in 1857. William S. Bond, 'Strange Story of 100 year ago', *Pacific Islands Monthly* XII, no. 9 (17 Apr. 1942), 19–20, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-314932595/view?sectionId=nla.obj-329096643&searchTerm=puakeri+mangaia&partId=nla.obj-314935883#page/n20/mode/1up (accessed 7 Oct. 2021).

[102] Register of Births, LMS, Oneroa, Mangaia (copy made by Niel Gunson, in author's possession).

[103] Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 45, with additional information provided by Rod Dixon.

[104] Reilly, 'Mangaia in the Colonial World', 25 n. 27.

[105] Miringatangi, 'Witness testimony in investigation of Te Vaooteravakai and Poutukava titles', 20 Aug. 1912, CILC, Minute Book, Aitutaki vol. 4 1912, p. 288, AUL/SC, Manuscripts and Archives, A-155, microfilm 1865.

[106] Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.

many composed by Koroa. Some of them have extensive commentaries by Mamae on the meanings of the various historical allusions found within particular song texts. In addition, of the 19 stories or lists found in this collection he wrote eight of them concerning mythological figures (such as the culture hero, Ngaru), stories of particular ancestors, the lunar calendar and the months of the year.[107] Mamae is also responsible for creating the list of the ruling *mangaia* title holders, including key historical details on the challengers, their respective descent groups, the location of battles and presiding priestly mediums. The most important single manuscript he contributed on this topic, 'Te Ara Mangaia' (The Path of *Mangaia* titleholders), is a condensed eight-page political history over some 300 years of this leadership succession.[108] Mamae also wrote down the largest tribal genealogy that is known from Mangaia. It lists all of the members of his own descent group, Ngāti Mautara. This manuscript commences with the foundational ancestor, Papaaunuku and his direct line, but the vast bulk of it records all those who descend from Mautara's six male children with issue, namely, Te Uanuku, Raumea, 'Īkoke, Karaea, Takurua, and Ngārā, including all the spouses who married into the group, as well as important female lines such as the descendants from the sisters of Mautara's father, 'Ākunukunu. In all, there are some 2,394 persons named in this family book of '*akapapa'anga* (genealogies).[109]

In the following letter Mamae responds to receiving a second book from Gill. This is *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*, a study of Mangaian tribal histories first published in 1880 by the New Zealand Government Printer. The first book that Mamae later alludes to in this extract was Gill's study of Mangaia's spiritual world, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, published in London by Henry S. King in 1876. Evidently, Gill had been sending copies of his publications back to Mamae as one of his chief collaborators. *Historical Sketches* was published with the support of the New Zealand officials, Sir James Hector and Sir George Grey.[110] Hector was in charge of various New Zealand government scientific bodies and gave ministers advice on a wide range of problems requiring someone with his academic training in science and medicine.[111] Grey, a former governor of the colony, was the New Zealand Premier (1877–9) and was well known for his advocacy of a greater British presence in the Pacific, as well as for his wide-ranging intellectual interests, including the collection of publications and manuscripts concerning Māori and other Polynesian peoples.[112] It seems reasonable to suppose that, as premier, Grey

[107] Based on a survey of the traditions located in ACL/SC, GNZ MS 45.

[108] These manuscripts are published with commentary and analysis in Reilly, *War and Succession*.

[109] Based on an analysis of 'Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga' and 'Photocopy of MS of Akaiti's genealogy book'.

[110] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 5.

[111] R.K. Dell, 'Hector, James', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published 1990, in *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h15/hector-james (accessed 10 Sept. 2021).

[112] Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published 1990, in *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george (accessed 10 Sept. 2021).

consulted Hector concerning Gill's book manuscript, and then instructed the Government Printer to publish it. Grey's key role explains why, towards the end of his life, Gill instructed that many of his most important Mangaian papers should be deposited in the Grey collection at the Auckland Public Library where they remain today.[113] In my translation, I have used Gill's own interpretations of the song lines Mamae refers to in his letter.

> Kua reka kē ʻoki tei te puka rua nei. Māri rā ʻe mea leta taki taʻi ʻua tei ʻē. Kāreka o te tara, ʻua tīroaroa ia. Tērā ʻua tei kore i tū reka, ʻe ʻeva nā Teinaaki, nō kore i tū te tūtakitaki. E kākaro koe i te kapi ʻē 50 rā, ē kia tae i te kapi ʻē 51 rā. E kākaro koe i raro ake i te ara i nākōʻia rā ē. ʻĒrā ʻa pīa te kaʻu o Tūtavake, ʻei tāeva i te rangi tao. Ka eva Ngāriki i te Moreikau, ka riro ʻoki te tāʻēkō, ka tā ʻoki i te ivi roa ō!' ʻE ara ʻakaʻui tei raro ake. Tērā te poi atu. E kākaro koe i te kapi ʻē 64 rā. ʻVāʻia Rongo puʻa[114] ʻakaneke atu Ngāuta ia Paia ʻua tae Rongo vāvāʻia', e tae ʻua atu i raro rava rā. ʻEi reira e poi mai ai taua tūranga i te kapi ʻē 51 rā, ʻNoʻo akēra Panoko [etc]', ʻo te tūranga ʻakaʻui ia. Ō tira ʻua rā paʻa āʻau tūranga i tātā i te ʻeva a Tukā i te kapi ʻē 52 rā? Kāre ʻoki au i kākaro maiē[115] rava i tei te puka mua rā. Tei roto rāi i te rima o Haresi i teianei. Kāre i tāʻoki mai.[116]
>
> [I] am delighted that the second book is here. But some letters, taken one by one, are incorrect. As for the narrative, it is long. The lament by Teinaaki lacks a satisfactory appearance as the form is not joined up. Look at page 50 and on up to page 51. Look below the line which says, 'The deadly spears are now uncovered, and every preparation made for battle. Ngāriki has foolishly taken the initiative. The deceiver attained his purpose; the long-dominant tribe is doomed'. The last line is beneath. That is the link. You look at page 64: 'The tribes of Ngāuta and Arepeʻe[117] are at enmity; Rongo has decreed their fall', and go on right down. Then that location should be united with page 51: 'The royal Panako[118] [etc.]', it's the final

[113] Letter from E. Wyatt-Gill, 24 Oct. 1899, ACL/SC, GNZ MS 44.

[114] Mamae writes this word 'puā'. As he often uses a macron to indicate a glottal stop, I've assumed this was his intention here, although what the word actually means is not clear to me. I could not find a meaning that fits with Gill's translation in any current Cook Islands dictionaries.

[115] This might also be read as *māʻie* (*mārie*).

[116] Letter from Mamaerua, ca. 1881, PS/ATL, MS-Papers-1187-059, MS-Copy-Micro-0755-10.

[117] Here Gill has replaced Paia, used in the Mangaian text, with Arepeʻe, another name for this chief who belonged to the descent group, Tepei (also called Teipe in the historical sources), see Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 179, 190–1. Gill may have chosen to use Arepeʻe in the translation because it was the name by which this leader was more commonly known. It is certainly the name Gill uses in his own narratives about that man.

[118] While Gill always writes this Ngāriki leader's name as Panako, Mangaian language manuscript sources (and Mamae) write it as Panoko: the latter is the form found in Mamae's letter (in contrast with Gill who renders it as Panako in his printed version of this song). Mangaians today (including

> position. Perhaps that is the reason you positioned in writing Tukā's lament at page 52? I cannot indeed look at that first book. It is in the hands of Harris right now. He hasn't returned it.

While Mamae is pleased to have a copy of Gill's new book, he is not uncritical of what he sees in it, particularly in relation to treatment of the Mangaian language material. At the outset he touches briefly on the incorrect spelling of words found amongst some of these texts. Most of his short letter picks up on the way that Gill intentionally broke up and rearranged Teinaakia's lament in different parts of *Historical Sketches*. Such an editorial decision enabled Gill to locate pieces of the lament that referred to important incidents discussed in other chapters. He explains his intentions in English after the opening excerpt from this lament,[119] but perhaps Mamae could not read that language and therefore could not see why one song composition was broken up in this way. A lack of competency in English would explain why Mamae focuses his attention on the Mangaian language texts found in *Historical Sketches*. Nonetheless, Mamae was clearly not happy about this editorial decision, arguing that the pieces of the lament should be reunited so that the song's lines followed on from each other in the correct order and altogether on the same pages. As Mamae seems to have realized, Tukā's lament followed on from part of Teinaakia's because it too referred to incidents discussed in the chapter that these two songs concluded.

What is most striking about this letter is Mamae's confidence in being able to speak back at Gill and critique any shortcomings in the Mangaian texts as they appeared in print. Perhaps Gill had asked him to, but more likely, Mamae felt able to voice his concerns because the two men had worked so long and closely together. As this letter reveals, their collaboration on recording Mangaia's tradition was an equal partnership. Mamae was not just a source of information but an active participant; hence his confidence in raising any criticisms with Gill. Despite Mamae's desire to see Teinaakia's song spliced back together, Gill did not take the opportunity to alter the text when an expanded edition was published in 1894 after Mamae's death.[120]

In 1879 Harris described Mamae as being 'an exceedingly poor man of the land'.[121] This was probably the result of Ngāti Mautara's loss of power when he was a youth. One of the consequences of defeat was the reallocation of land by the *mangaia* to his supporters. While Mamae was a highly respected '*orometua*, he only received a moderate income from the church. For many years he was paid £5 in cloth or £10 cash per annum (in comparison Harris received an annual salary of £150). Indigenous church workers like Mamae were accustomed to receiving payment in the form of

Shibata, *Mangaian–English Dictionary*, 194) accept Panako as the correct spelling. Perhaps the dominance of Gill's written texts has caused this change?

[119] William Wyatt Gill, *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1880), 51–2.

[120] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 80, 87, 97–8.

[121] Letter from Harris, 5 June 1879.

cloth which they would trade for cash.[122] Like other Mangaians therefore, Mamae was used to the life of the planter in order to sustain his family and to bring in some additional income. Before the following passage, Mamae had acknowledged a gift from Wyatt Gill. He turned to discussing the poor growing conditions as they would prevent him returning the favour.

> Kāre au i ropa poi ana i teia Mē. Kāre ʻoki e pōʻiri memeitaki e ʻō atu ai nāʻau. ʻE māmio kikino ʻua tāku. E ʻē ʻua ake i tā tētaʻi rā te māmio meitaki. Mei te rā mai rāi i patiʻia [a]i te onge ʻia tukuʻia mai i runga i te ʻenua e tei pati i te onge, ʻua auē rā ʻoki i te mānga kore tei pati i te onge. Kāre e taea te māmio ia Mangaia i tō tāua tuātau rā. Tērā tētaʻi onge i onge ai. ʻUa tiri te ropa mānga. ʻUa ʻō ake te ʻenua nō te puaka. ʻUa kore ʻua te māniota tāʻau i kite ana rā. ʻUa pepeke te tangata i te tanu vavai. Nō reira i kore ai ētaʻi tītiʻa mata e riro vave nō te kore ʻe māniota. Tei tōʻou manako ē, e ʻoko au i te moni e ʻakakite mai koe. Mē kore e tiaki au i te tāpū e rauka [a]i te māniota. Nō reira i kore ai ētaʻi tītiʻa mata e riro vave nō te kore ʻe māniota. Tei tōʻou manako ē, e ʻoko au i te moni e ʻakakite mai koe. Mē kore e tiaki au i te tāpū e rauka [a]i te māniota.[123]
>
> I have not made mashed *māmio* (*poi*) this May. There has not been a good harvest to be able to give you something. Mine are only poor quality *māmio* (*Colocasia esculenta*). It'll be entirely different later on, with good quality *māmio* one day. From the day the famine was invited to be released upon the land, by the one who invited the shortage, [people] have cried out from the lack of food which invited the famine.[124] The *māmio* in Mangaia has not reached that of our time.[125] This was another famine when [people] were hungry. The making of food was cast aside. The land was given over for the pig. You no longer saw the *māniota* (manioc, cassava, *Manihot esculenta* Crantz). The people banished the planting of *vavai*

[122] Letter from Harris, 4 May 1876, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 1, Jacket C, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719893548/view (accessed 6 Oct. 2021). Harris's salary: Minutes of a Meeting held at Rarotonga, 25 May 1874, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 5, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719826186/view (accessed 6 Oct. 2021). Denominations in English pounds. In 1870 values: £10 ≡ 50 days wages for a skilled tradesman; £150 ≡ 750 days wages; converted to 2017 currency: £10 ≡ £629.09, £150 ≡ £9,391.35. Currency conversions: National Archives [UK], 'Currency Converter: 1270–2017', https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result (accessed 7 Oct. 2021).

[123] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879.

[124] The translation of this sentence is a bit tentative. To me the passage evokes the idea that some agent or being, perhaps the devil, had invited a famine to come upon the land and cause a shortage of *māmio*.

[125] I take it that Mamae is suggesting that as a consequence of the famine, Mangaia's *māmio* stock has not yet got back to the kind of production levels or quality known during Gill's time on the island.

> (cotton plant, *Gossypium barbadense*). Therefore some glasses quickly disappear because of the lack of *māniota*. What's your opinion, should I purchase [spectacles] with the money you told [me about]? If not, I will wait and hold back the *māniota* [I] possess.

Famines were not uncommon on Mangaia and could be caused by droughts, hurricanes or floods impacting on the planting lands in some or all of the districts. Food shortages would persist until new plants could be harvested. In the meantime, people would resort to so-called famine foods, often wild plants growing in the landscape, although the amounts and nutritional value of such foods could result in hunger and even deaths. In 1878 Harris reported that a drought had caused severe food shortages, leaving many with little to eat (it did not stop him continuing with church activities including planning a new building programme).[126] This food scarcity was clearly still having an impact at the time of Mamae's letter in 1879.

The most important of the plants mentioned by Mamae was the *māmio* (a local term for the ubiquitous *taro*). This is the primary food plant grown extensively throughout Mangaia in its inland valleys and around streams, principally in elaborately irrigated wetland plots known as *taro* (or wet *taro* patches), and less commonly in *pa'i*, or raised plots of earth surrounded by moats of water to maintain moisture, often called a dry *taro* patch. Perhaps because of the recent drought Mamae thought the size of his *māmio* to be inferior to those at the time Gill resided in Mangaia. The lack of a good quality harvest dissuaded him from making any *poi* that year. This is a food preparation also found elsewhere in the Pacific. It involves a person pounding baked *māmio* pieces with a heavy stone to form a sticky mass which, once tightly wrapped in green leaves, can be stored and used for up to six months.[127]

The other plants Mamae mentions (the *māniota* and *vavai*) were introduced species, part of a cohort of secondary crops sold commercially to European buyers in exchange for cash. Such commodities would also have formed part of people's contributions to their LMS annual subscriptions.[128] However, they did have some local

[126] Letter from Harris, 6 May 1878, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 4, Jacket B, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719970086/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note that items from Folder 4, Jacket B are in reversed order (including the pages of this letter) as are folders and jackets which appear thus: Folder 4, Jacket A, Folder 5 Jacket A, then back to Folder 4 but jackets in reverse order: E, D, C, B.

[127] For more detailed descriptions of *poi* preparation: Shibata, *Mangaian–English Dictionary*, 220; W. Arthur Whistler, *Plants of the Canoe People: An Ethnobotanical Voyage through Polynesia* (Lawai, Kaua'i, Hawai'i: National Tropical Botanical Garden, 2009), 80.

[128] '*Manihot esculenta* Crantz', *Plants of the World Online, Kew Science*, http://powo.science.kew.org/taxon/urn:lsid:ipni.org:names:351790-1 (accessed 22 Mar. 2021); '*Gossypium barbadense*', *Plants of the World Online, Kew Science*, http://powo.science.kew.org/taxon/urn:lsid:ipni.org:names:559677-1 (accessed 22 Mar. 2021); W. Arthur Whistler, *Flowers of the Pacific Island Seashore* (Honolulu: Isle Botanica, 1992), 59. Whistler notes an Indigenous Polynesian cotton plant (*Gossypium hirsutum* var. *taitense*) in the Society Islands, the Tuamotu Islands and the Marquesas Islands, suggesting that it may also have existed in Mangaia.

uses; for example, the cotton from *vavai* was employed as a cotton wool substitute into the twentieth century.[129] Another plant in this commercial cohort was the *pia* (Polynesian arrowroot, *Tacca leontopetaloides*), although it had arrived with the original Polynesian settlers.[130] It would seem that Mangaians had cut back on such cash crops in favour of making land available for pig farming. Pigs themselves had only been re-introduced with the missionaries in 1830 after disappearing in the late pre-European period.[131] In addition to *māmio* Mamae was evidently growing *māniota* in order to provide the wherewithal to purchase his much needed spectacles, apparently with Gill's assistance.

Last Years and Retrospect

In his 1879 letter to Gill, Mamae reflected on growing old.

> Ē ta'u Takiaua tangi 'ē! 'Ua ngāueue ngā turuturu i taua 'are nei. Koia 'oki, ōku vaevae, 'o tōku va'a, ē tōku 'inangaro. Tē pakari 'ua nei ia. Inārā, 'o ta'u kōivi kātoatoa, i rakapū, i teia'a, ē te ngoengoeā, e tokotoko e tae ai i te ngā'i mamao. Tē ma'ara nei iāku tei 'akakitea i te Koheleta, pene 12, 'īrava 1: 'Ē tēnāna, e 'akamanako i Tei 'anga iākoe i tō'ou 'anga rā, kāre i tae i te au rā kino rā, ē kāre i tae i te au mata'iti, e karanga [a]i koe rā ē, kāre rava ōku e mataora 'anga'. E tika rāi, ē ta'u Takiaua, e tika rāi, e tika. Ē tē tatari nei au i tōku karere i te tiki iāku, e ta'u Taki.[132]
>
> Oh my friend, greetings! The supports for that house shook. That is to say, my legs, my mouth and my wants. These are simply growing old. Even so is all my body: completely afflicted, oppressed, down-hearted, propped up till I reach the distant place. It came to my mind what is revealed in Ecclesiastes, chapter 12, verse 1: 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no

[129] Shibata, *Mangaian–English Dictionary*, 385.

[130] Whistler, *Plants of the Canoe People*, 203.

[131] Kirch, 'Vertebrate Fauna from Tangatatau Rockshelter: Mammals, Birds, and Reptiles', in *Tangatatau Rockshelter*, 93 n. 70.

[132] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879. This passage precedes the one quoted earlier in this paper about Mamae's late wife. I have conjectured meanings for some Mangaian words not found in contemporary Cook Islands dictionaries: 'kōivi' can mean body, bones, corpse in nineteenth-century Mangaian texts and various cognate East Polynesian languages. See e.g. Gill, *Myths and Songs*, 242; 'rakapū', 'completely afflicted', has been assumed to be a combination of *raka* and the adverb *pū*, see relevant usages of *raka* in ibid., 5 (trouble); Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 188 [*la'a* 'in great trouble or get in/into trouble']; 'Takiaua', and its shortened form, 'Taki', are Mangaian terms for friend according to my friend, the late Teariki No'oroa.

> pleasure in them'.[133] It is so very true, o my Friend, so very true, so true. I am waiting for my messenger to fetch me, o my Friend.

In this passage Mamae talks about his experience of aging with its attendant loss of physical health, declining oratorical powers, and a lessening of feelings for life's pleasures. He awaited the messenger who would bring him out of this valley of tears and reunite him with his late wife in a better world.

Mamae died on 22 September 1889. His presence in the LMS correspondence fades away after about 1884, when the missionary W.N. Lawrence, temporarily domiciled at Oneroa, and with limited skills in *te tara Mangaia*, left the preaching 'to the native teacher who is a fine old man quite a father among the people' – almost certainly a glimpse of Mamae still at work serving the church and people.[134] Any retrospective of his worth by Harris in 1890 (when he wrote three letter to the LMS directors) was lost when these and other letters were destroyed during the German bombing of London in May 1941.[135] Wyatt Gill, who knew Mamae for some 37 years, described him as 'no ordinary man'. As befitted a churchman he was 'well versed in Scripture, which he expounded with great originality and power, bringing his illustrations not from books or commentaries, but from Nature, and from events familiar to those whom he [was] addressing'. These included the rich body of stories and songs he had learned as a child at the knee of Koroa. 'He had', added Gill, 'much wit and humour, as well as true pathos'.[136] These were the attributes Gill valued in Mamae's preaching: true pathos perhaps referring to the ability to evoke deep emotions in the congregation. Such skills suggest too the rhetorical arts of the Polynesian orator. The knowledge world of Koroa's generation imbricates his *mokopuna*'s Christian world view.

When Gill sorted his Mangaian papers a few years before his death in 1896 he paused to write a last vignette of Mamae, concluding with an estimation of his chief qualities:

> Mamae was one of the cleverest men I ever met with. For upwards of 40 years he was a faithful preacher of the Gospel. He died not long since at an advanced age; – spotless in character, true as steel in friendship. I dearly loved him.[137]

Mamae also deserves recognition as a tribal historian whose knowledge, thanks to Gill's publications, continues to be found in academic writings not only about

[133] Translation from the Authorized Version.

[134] Letter from W.N. Lawrence, 26 Dec. 1884, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 38, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 53.

[135] See note in *London Missionary Society Archives Inventory*, copy at Hocken Collections. The first three SSL folders were destroyed. Harris's 1890 letters: 24 June (SSL, Box 41, Folder 2, Jacket A), 23 Sept., 27 Oct. (Jacket B). Harris's last letter for 1889 was written in July. Nor did he allude to Mamae in any 1891 letters. I did not survey SSL beyond that year.

[136] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 367–8.

[137] Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.

Mangaia but also about wider Polynesia. He belongs to the generation who learned to move within a world first colonized by the LMS and subsequently by European governments, including New Zealand's, keen to paint the world in the colours of empire. Like other Polynesian scholars and leaders of his generation Mamae made sure to load his ancestral knowledge into the new vessels venturing towards the challenges of the future.